the WOMAN VOTER

HIS PLACE IS THE ARMORY
ALICE DUER MILLER

IOWA NEXT
ROSE LAWLESS GEYER

STATE CAMPAIGNS
GERTRUDE FOSTER BROWN

MARCH, 1916

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THE WOMAN VOTER

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EDITOR
FLORENCE WOOLSTON

ASSOCIATE EDITORS
ADALINE W. STERLING MELINDA FOSTER

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The Woman Voter is the only magazine published in the interests of the New York State Campaign for woman suffrage. It contains official news of the work, authoritative statements on policy by officers of *The New York State Woman Suffrage Party,* and general articles by well known writers.

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THE WOMAN VOTER

MARCH, 1916

The Woman Suffrage Party has one plank in its platform and only one—votes for the women of New York State, the women of the United States and the women of the world.

WASHINGTON'S Birthday was a real holiday for New York suffragists. The Whitney-Brereton suffrage bill, providing for a referendum in 1917, was favorably reported by the House Judiciary Committee, by a vote of 11 to 1. It later passed the second reading and was scheduled for a vote on March 7th.

A deputation of women from every one of the 150 Assembly Districts in the State will go to Albany on March 7th to hear the discussion and be present when the vote is taken. All suffragists are invited to accompany their district deputations. Senator Walters, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, has promised that his committee will report the bill on the same day—which makes March 7th loom large on the suffrage calender.

Women and Filipinos

IT was the tactful William H. Taft who, as President of the United States, made the happy comparison between American women and Filipino men, stating that they were equally fit for self-government. Since his day the analogy has remained and every movement in Congress toward freeing the Filipino has made the American woman take heart.

On the second of February the Senate adopted the Clark amendment to the Philippine bill which gives independence to the Filipino after two years and not later than four years. The news made women who for nearly forty years have been asking Congress to grant them the right of self-government believe that the time of the Susan B. Anthony amendment was also at hand.

But news came, two weeks later, that the House had postponed action on the woman suffrage amendment until next December. Now suffragists are wondering why the words democracy, great principles, inalienable rights, liberty, and self-government uttered so fervently when applied to the Filipinos arouse no enthusiasm whatever when applied to American women.

The Federal Amendment

"COMMITTEES have been known to change their minds," was Mrs. Catt's comment upon the postponed consideration of the Federal amendment. "We shall go on with our work for the amendment exactly as if this had not occurred." The Congressional Committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association does not consider the postponement of final action by the House Judiciary Committee in any way the defeat of woman suffrage. The committee seeks not only a vote on the question but favorable action by both the Judiciary Committee and Congress.

Steps have already been taken to secure a reconsideration by the Judiciary Committee. Meanwhile, the National Association is working for a congressional district, county, and precinct organization, looking not only to the successful passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment by Congress but to ratification of the amendment by those states to which it must be submitted for legislative action.

Victory in Manitoba

THE year 1916 opens with a great victory for woman suffrage in Canada. On January 27th, the Legislature of Manitoba passed the bill enfranchising the women of the Province without a dissenting vote. The bill, which was sponsored by the Government, was moved by Acting Premier T. H. Johnson and passed amid greatest enthusiasm. As soon as the third reading had been concluded, the members on the floor of the House stood up while the women who thronged the galleries sang "O Canada." This was followed by "They're Jolly Good Fellows," sung first by the women as a compliment to the Legislature and gallantly repeated by the Legislature as a compliment to the women.

Commenting editorially on "The Enfranchisement of Women," The Manitoba Free Press says:

"In recent years the woman suffrage movement in this Province entered upon a new and final phase. There arose leaders profoundly stirred by the prejudice to the public life of Manitoba from the political impotence of their sex. They were women of intense earnestness, of high ideals and of more than ordinary intelligence and ability.

"Their devotion and their inspiration had a far-reaching influence. A provincial-wide suffrage association was formed, and support came from many existing organizations, notably, the temperance societies, the farmers' associations and the ranks of labor. So strong had the movement become by the spring of 1914 that the Manitoba Liberals, then in convention assembled, adopted woman suffrage, under conditions which the women proved easily able to fulfil, as a definite plank in their platform. The Conservative party of the Province, in the democratizing air of opposition, paid the Liberals the sincere compliment of imitation,—this after years of unresponsiveness and, indeed, open hostility.

"There will be murmurs—there have been with every extension of the franchise—that education in the use of the ballot should precede the granting of it. That is a perverted and impossible order of things. The exercise of the franchise is, after all, an important part of the political education of the voter. To ask women to be politically educated before they vote is to ask people to learn to swim before entering the water, or to ask the airman to learn his art on terra firma.

"The Norris government, in passing woman suffrage, has established at least one title to enduring fame."

It is confidently expected that the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan will take similar action. The Canadian Parliament at Ottawa has already been notified of a resolution to give the vote in Federal elections to those women who may vote in Provincial elections.

Maryland

On February 22nd the Maryland Assembly passed the bill for the referendum on woman suffrage, 17 to 10. If the Senate passes it and the Governor signs it, it will be voted upon at the next election.

Congressional Conferences

New York was the first state in the Union to hold a Congressional Conference in the interests of the Susan B. Anthony amendment. On February 24th an all-day meeting was held under the joint direction of the National Association and the New York State Woman Suffrage Party. Ten delegates from each congressional district in the State were present.

During the past two years of active work for the New York State amendment the State Suffrage Association did almost no federal suffrage work, upon the advice of the Congressional Committee of the National Association, although keeping constantly informed upon the national situation. On the day after the November election, however, its leaders sent out a letter to Congressional chairmen, asking them to interview senators and representatives from New York State to the National Congress and report to the National Suffrage Convention in Washington. When the Convention met, every senator and congressman in the State, but one, had been interviewed and his views recorded.

The Congressional Conference discussed problems with regard to the Federal bill, under the leadership of Mrs. Raymond Brown, Congressional Chairman for New York, and Mrs. Catt.

Oklahoma

A joint resolution authorizing the submission of a female suffrage amendment to the state constitution, was adopted by the Oklahoma House of Representatives, on February 12th.

The vote was 2 to 15. Should the resolution be adopted by the Senate the amendment would be submitted to the electorate in August.

Beware!

A referendum for women to indicate whether the majority of New York women desire the right to vote would be authorized by a bill introduced recently by Assemblyman Cotillo. The measure provides that all women possessing qualifications of a voter other than sex be permitted to vote. Of course all suffragists recognize this as an anti-suffrage attempt to delay the legal referendum which will enfranchise New York women. No matter how many women took advantage of Assemblyman Cotillo's sentimental plan to register their desires, woman suffrage could be accomplished only by an amendment to the constitution, ratified by a majority vote of the men of the State.

The Attorney-General of Nevada has ruled that women in that equal suffrage State are eligible for jury service.

Why Not Try Some Women?

TEN institutions for children in or near New York City are so badly managed that conditions are little less than a public scandal and disgrace. Yet the State Board of Charities, composed of twelve men who are supposed to inspect and supervise these institutions has continued to give them monthly certificates. It was not until the Department of Public Charities refused to send children to these places and began an investigation which resulted in the recent hearings that citizens of New York knew how their orphaned charges have suffered through the negligence of the State Board. Investigators told of unspeakable filth, lack of sanitary accommodations, poor food, and revolting service in the dining rooms, lack of such elemental comforts as chairs or beds, and such horrible moral and educational conditions that Dicken's pictures in Oliver Twist were quite put to shame.

The investigation may result in a new division of responsibility between city and state departments with regard to public institutions. Commissioner Kingsbury of the Department of Public Charities has expressed his views of the value of women's services along these lines Undoubtedly, he would favor our suggestion that in the future, at least half the State Board of Charities be women. *The Woman Voter* knows six New York women who are efficient, public spirited, and sufficiently imaginative to understand under what conditions children—even poor children—should live. And all of them are so conscientious that when they accept positions of great responsibility, they regard them seriously.

In Mexico.

WOMAN suffrage has become a live question in Mexico. At the Women's Congress in Merida, which was called by General Alvarado, Governor of Yucatan, a resolution was passed stating that since the women of Mexico were possessed of equal intelligence with men all inhibitions on the suffrage and the right to hold public office as applicable to women under the existing organic law should be removed.

The Child Labor Bill.

THE Keating bill which proposes to abolish child labor in this country by Federal action "proposes to make it a penal offence punishable by fine and imprisonment for any person to either ship or offer for shipment in interstate commerce any commodity produced in whole or part, in any mine or quarry, by the labor of a child under fourteen, or in any manufacturing establishment or cannery by the labor of a child under sixteen, or in any of such places by children under sixteen, employed more than eight hours in a day or six days of such period in a week, or at any time between the hours of seven at night and seven in the morning."

Alice Düer Miller

President of the Women's City Club of New York, which held its first meeting and election of officers on January 31st.

Votes for Strikers.

WOMEN trade-unionists have hinted from time to time that in the ranks of organized labor, women are as lacking in representation as they are in the political world. This lack of democracy in industry has been brought out in the recent strike of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union. Of the 40,000 strikers, 36,000 were women, yet there was no woman on the strike committee. The women unionists left their shops when the call came, they went on picket duty, they bore a heavy share of the burden of the strike. They did exactly as the men who were leading the strike told them to do, until they were ordered back to their shops. Then it dawned upon the women strikers that they had not been given a voice in determining the terms of peace.

Led by Jennie Matyas, hundreds of the women who had gathered in Beethoven Hall agreed to fight for representation among the officers of the union and on the general strike committee. Until this purpose is achieved, women trade unionists have a double handicap. They can neither better their conditions by voting for the legislation which they need nor can they directly determine when and how to better conditions by direct action.

State Campaigns

Gertrude Foster Brown

SINCE the election of November 2d there has been a great deal of talk to the effect that it is foolish to try any longer to get suffrage through a State campaign; that it is wasteful of time, money and energy to work with individual voters when suffrage could be won for all the women of the nation if suffragists would drop State work and concentrate upon a Federal amendment.

This plan is wonderfully alluring, especially to many who gave unstintingly to the recent campaign and are tired and depressed because such magnificent efforts did not bring immediate success. The argument, too, that it is humiliating to have to appeal to such hordes of ignorant, ungetatable, unconvertible voters as are in the New York State electorate, has its effect.

It is a most attractive program that is mapped out and urged on suffrage workers everywhere: that the hard work of a State campaign is no longer necessary, that in the four million women who now have the vote there is a power strong enough to force the adoption of the National amendment without further delay. So far do the advocates of this policy go that they are urging women to drop State work, resign from the Woman Suffrage Party and throw all their force into the Federal plan.

On the one point most suffragists are agreed: They all want a National amendment. The difference of opinion, however, is on how to work most effectively for this amendment.

While one group, the Congressional Union, works *only* for the National amendment, the New York State Woman Suffrage Party and the National American Woman Suffrage Association to which it belongs, believe that Federal and State work must go hand in hand.

The National Association introduced the Susan B. Anthony Amendment in 1875 and every year since then has held a hearing before both Houses of Congress. While there were only four woman suffrage States there was little chance of a Federal Amendment, but with the increasing number of suffrage States and the increased number of Congressmen elected by the votes of women, these hearings have had more effect and public interest in a Federal amendment has increased. Last winter, when the question came to a vote in Congress, the Senate gave a majority of one in favor and the House a minority of 174 to 204. Now, one group of suffragists say that the time for State action is past, that there are already enough woman suffrage States and enough woman voters to force Federal action.

Assuming for a moment that this is true and that the Susan B. Anthony Amendment is successfully passed by both Houses of Congress, what happens then? Not one woman would be enfranchised until the amendment is ratified by three-fourths or 36 of the 48 States. That means that every State in the Union but 12 would have to be won for ratification; even three of the 15 Southern States which stand firmly on State Rights would have to ratify it before it became a law. How can we be sure that such an amendment would be ratified by any State legislature?

It is scarcely too much to say that not a single State legislature, outside of a woman suffrage State has ever held a majority in favor of suffrage. Legislatures like that of New York which have voted for submission of the woman suffrage question have not done so because they believed in suffrage but because they in that way passed the responsibility on to their constituents.

The most powerful argument used to get them to vote for submission was that in doing so they were not voting for suffrage but simply were allowing their constituents to vote for or against it.

When it becomes a question of ratifying a National amendment, on the contrary, every legislator must vote on the suffrage question himself.

Since the majority of them are opposed, how can they be forced to ratify the amendment unless there is a strong suffrage organization in each district watching them and urging them to do so? To ratify a Federal amendment will need the *strongest possible State organization* in every State in the Union. This is what the New York State Woman Suffrage Party is trying to build up in New York State and what the National American Woman Suffrage Association is helping to organize in all the States.

If we really want a Federal amendment the surest way to get it is to increase our power in Washington by winning more States for suffrage. There are only 65 Congressmen elected by women, out of 440, and 24 Senators out of 96. Winning Iowa in June would add eleven Congressmen and 2 more Senators. Winning New York would more than double the woman suffrage representatives.

Even if the Federal amendment passed this session it would certainly not be ratified before 1917 when the next vote will be taken in New York. It would seem then that the first duty of every New York suffragist, whether she believes in a Federal amendment or in State action, would be to do everything possible to build up the New York State organization and help the campaign in New York, to help win Iowa, and instead of decrying State campaigns and trying to tear down the State organizations to work with them and help build them up.

His Place is the Armory

A Play in One Act

Alice Duer Miller

Illustrations by Ethel Watts Mumford

The Committee Hears the Bill for Man Suffrage.

Time—2100 A. D.

Place—Committee-room in the capitol of one of the eastern states. A plain, business-like room; on the wall a portrait of a female judge in full robes. In the center is a large desk. On the desk is a telephone and some papers, neatly arranged. There are three or four chairs in the room.

Discovered . . . Mrs. Senator Firman at desk, facing audience, writing. A messenger in a neat uniform stands beside her. Several committee women are sitting or standing about room. They vary in age, but are all completely feminine in manner and appearance. They are dressed elegantly, but with regard to practical convenience. Senator Firman is a woman nearing sixty; white-haired, but erect, slim and active.

Senator

Directing and folding a letter and handing it to the messenger.

Take that to Senator Powers.

To one of the members of the committee,

She will be in her office now, won't she?

Exit messenger.

I must see her before the meeting of her committee on Child Preservation.

The telephone rings. She takes down receiver. Her manner is calm and her face absolutely impassive during the ensuing conversation,

Hello? Yes, this is Senator Firman. Oh, Madame Speaker, I did not recognize your voice. Not very busy, no. I have a hearing before my committee this afternoon—yes, the judiciary committee,—no, no, not at all important, only on the manhood suffrage bill.

Meditatively,

Oh, I hardly think so.

To one of the committee,

It would not do to postpone that hearing on male suffrage, would it?

First Member

A large, robust, motherly, good-natured woman of about forty-five,

They take a lot of trouble over it. I don't think it would be quite fair.

Senator

At telephone,

No, no, Madame Speaker, I'm afraid not. We feel we must hold the hearing at the hour set. No, not a bit, but they think it does. Good-bye.

Puts down telephone and speaks with the utmost good temper. Indeed, throughout, the tone of the women is entirely temperate and good-natured.

What a bore this hearing is, to be sure. Every year, however busy we may be, we have to give up an hour or so to these male suffragists. How can men expect us to do anything for them, if they make themselves such a nuisance.

First Member

You can't go out to dinner nowadays without meeting some man asking for justice and the vote.

Second Member

Young, pretty, obviously able, but a little bit too keen,

Yes; the other night after an awfully long, hard day in the legislature, I went to the theatre, just to relax my mind. A man in the audience recognized me as a member of the judiciary committee, and began at once about the difficulties and dangers of his voteless situation. Of course, I always say the same thing: "Ah, my dear Mr. So and So, if it were a question of giving only

The Captain.

---

you the vote——" Pleases them, you know, and commits us to nothing.

Senator

Sorting and arranging papers as she speaks,

I am perfectly open-minded on the subject. Indeed, I believe in man's suffrage, theoretically. Only I do not feel sure that they desire it. All I ask is that every male in this state should come to me personally and express himself as desiring it. If they do not do that, I feel I am justified in supposing that there is no general demand for it among them.

Second Member

Seeking light,

If they did do that, you would introduce their bill?

First Member

Temperately,

Oh, come, not so fast. There are more things to be considered than their wishes in the matter. Are they adapted to the uses of the ballot? Men are so terribly hysterical. If anything goes wrong they must swear. If anything goes right, they must shout. I went to one of their football games the other day, and you cannot imagine the hysterical exhibition that took place at the end. Men of fifty—fathers of families—dancing about the field, throwing their hats in the air, and screaming and singing. And I said to myself: And this is the sex that is asking for the ballot!

Second Member

Eagerly,

Yes, and they cry so easily. They tell each other that they don't, but we know they do. I never heard of any man's offer of marriage being refused, but what he cried about it.

First Member

Indulgently,

Oh, you must remember that that is one of the orthodox methods for getting their own way.

Senator

One of my great objections is the utter lack of intelligence they show in their dress; it is so ugly, so impractical. I always say to my brothers, "Show me that you are capable of dressing sensibly, and I will consider your enfranchisement." But these collars that saw their poor necks, these expensive silk hats, ruined by a touch, these board-like shirts, these woolen jackets in the hottest weather, and above all, these essential collar-buttons, always under the dressing-table——

All smile and shake their heads.

Second Member

Frankly,

Well, I am in favor of it—unequivocally.

The others look at her with mild interest,

I think the vote would educate them, would teach them self-control.

Senator

Man suffrage is bound to come, I suppose. We shall all probably live to see the day when the sight of a man in a polling booth will excite no more comment than that of a woman. But it isn't where he belongs. Man's place is in the armory.

Second Member

There can be no doubt about it; that is the place for the manly man, but the question is, has not the simple old type of manly warlike man disappeared? Has not man, at the expense, it is true, of his old-fashioned virtues, gradually fitted himself——

First Member

Touching her arm,

You know, my dear, we shall have to listen to speeches like that for the next hour.

They smile,

As for this armory of theirs, in which they are supposed to be so efficient, I am tired of hearing them talk of it. They cannot keep it clean without a woman to scrub for them, they cannot write a letter without a woman to typewrite it for them, and they cannot march out of it to war without a band of women nurses to protect them from the careless unsanitary methods which have always proved so much more dangerous to them than the enemies' weapons. No, no, until they are at least able to manage their own affairs, let them keep out of ours.

Senator

Looking at her watch which she holds in the palm of her hand,

Late as usual. The hearing was set for 2.30. How can they expect us——

First Member

Oh, well, would you have them different? If they were particular about such little matters as punctuality, wouldn't they lose half their charm?

Second Member

Here they come now. Oh, dear, General Mixup again! I did hope they would find someone new this year.

Officials of the court enter followed by about twelve men, who range themselves on either side of the Senator's desk. Those opposed are all large men, wearing naval or military uniforms. They carry a banner which reads: "Manly men do not want the vote." The men in favor are simply intelligent looking private citizens. Their banner reads, "Men's interests demand men's votes."

Senator

Who has taken her place as chairman, raps with her gavel,

The hearing is now open. We will hear first the gentlemen opposed.

Leader of the Gentlemen Opposed

Ladies, it gives me much pleasure to introduce to this distinguished committee our first speaker. Though he is the consistent embodiment of our great principle—the principle on which we always have and always shall take our stand—namely, that man's place is the armory, though he was born in an armory, reared in an armory and has never left the armory for any frivolous reason, yet for fifteen years General Mixup has attended these hearings to plead against the enfranchisement of his sex. I have the honor to introduce General Mixup.

General Mixup is a large stout man, with a deep voice and a thick white mustache.

General Mixup

Ladies, I would not have put myself in a situation where I fear the native fierceness of my sex might be contaminated, did I not feel the crisis to be urgent. Ladies, men must not be given the ballot. Men are men, and women, women. Nature has so decreed. Women were created to bear children and to do individual, municipal and national housekeeping. Men were created by a beneficent providence simply for one purpose—to fight. By the mere suggestion of man suffrage the institution on which our civilization rests is threatened. The armory is threatened.

Cries of no, no, from the other side. The General glares at them and repeats loudly,

I tell you the armory is threatened, by those too cowardly and indifferent to cherish it as it deserves.

A Gentleman in Favor

I protest. It is because I love my armory——

The General

General Mixup

Why are you out of it then?

Gentleman

Why are you?

Senator

Rapping,

Gentlemen, order, order. Remember you are before us to ask for a privilege. On your conduct the result very largely depends.

The General

Continuing,

For what is the instinct of the man when any dispute arises? To vote? No, madam, to fight. And can we disregard this divine instinct of the male without injury to the race? No, a thousand times, no. Biologists, electricians, astrologers, clairvoyants and florists are all unanimously agreed that men must not be given the vote. The vote is weakness, compromise, a mere intellectual process. No truly manly man can approach a ballot box without becoming a weakling. Ladies, we ask you to preserve us exactly as we are, and as, we feel, you like us.

He sits down amid great applause from his own side and hisses and boos from the other. The Senator raps for order.

The Leader

Our next speaker, ladies, is no stranger to you, by name at least. Without ever leaving the virile retreat of the cavalry barracks he has contrived to make his name widely known, and to prove in his own person that literary attainment is not at variance with a magnificent, an attractive manliness. He has for years conducted the column for men in one of the few of our daily papers which is sufficiently broad-minded to believe that even men should be taught to read and write. I have the honor to introduce Captain Jinks.

Captain Jinks is a cavalryman, with long blond mustache and very long legs.

The Captain

Haw, ladies, haw. My position is simple. I do not want to vote. I do not like men. I like the ladies best. Any little political favor I want I like to ask of you ladies, over a cup of tea. I should not like to have to go to a man about it. He might refuse it. I feel I can accomplish all I want by indirect influence.

Second Member

What's that?

The Captain

Coyly,

I can't show you here.

He sits down. Applause and hisses as before.

The Leader

Ladies, our next speaker, though not so utterly unspotted from the world as the two last, is yet a thoroughly manly man. He was born in a battleship, drilled on a battleship, and has never left a battleship, except to come here to-day to give us the benefit of his opinion. I have much pleasure in introducing Admiral Bluff.

The Admiral is a brisk, red-faced man, who speaks rapidly and familiarly.

The Admiral

I don't pretend to be a speaker, ladies. We in the Navy don't cultivate oratory like some other branches of the profession.

Angry glances pass between him and General Mixup,

I don't reason, I try not to think, I feel it does not suit my sex or profession, but once in a while in the long days at sea an idea penetrates, unbidden, ladies, believe me, unbidden. That's what I've come to tell you. One of my ideas. It is this. Men are masculine, and women—I see you anticipate my thought—are feminine. That's why we get on so well. Now let's drop all this nonsense about privileges and responsibilities and come down to the point. Charm, ladies, charm, that's the point. Now, be honest. Which of you, if your husband got into a row would wish him

The Admiral

to vote about it. It may be all right theoretically, but really you'd choose the man who used not his ballot, but his fists. And you would be right. That is the true, the manly way. Compare the men in favor of this degrading suggestion with ourselves. Compare their clothes, their manner, their mustaches. Do you prefer them to us? Then indeed the country would be going to the dogs. But you do *not* prefer them. Why not? Because it would be impossible. We may as well look facts fairly in the faces. Give men the vote, and you rub the bloom from their militarism. Rub the bloom from their militarism and you destroy the attraction between the sexes. Destroy the attraction between the sexes and the race—unless I have been grossly misinformed—will cease.

He sits down, amid deafening applause from his own side, which drowns any demonstration from the other. During the speeches the members of the committee have been gradually dropping off to sleep, with the single exception of the Senator, who is still managing to keep her eyes open. She raps with her gavel.

Senator

Drowsily,

The gentlemen in favor——

She immediately falls fast asleep.

First Gentleman in Favor

Before beginning my exposition of the immediate necessity of man suffrage, I wish to make two statements in contradiction to those of the other side. First, we are not asking for the ballot because we wish to be like women,

Cries of "you do, you are" from the other side,

and Second, we would not in any way imperil that sacred institution—the Armory.

Cries of "you do, you do."

On the contrary, we speak in the interests, the best interests of the Armory. You, ladies, can hardly deny——

Seeing they are all asleep, he repeats louder,

You, ladies, can hardly deny that your legislation has looked rather to the protection of the nursery and the school than to that of the Armory——

Gentlemen Opposed

Right, right! Keep the Armory out of politics.

The General

Rising on his feet,

I love my Armory, but I protest I would rather see it in ashes than protected by a female politician.

Gentleman in Favor

Then give men the power to protect it—give us the ballot.

Those Opposed

We can protect it as we are.

Those in Favor

Impossible without the ballot.

Admiral Bluff

We'll show you whether we can or not.

Gentleman in Favor

Brute force is not argument.

Those Opposed

All the arguments you'll get from us.

The disturbance increases, cries of coward, bully, weaklings are heard. A free fight develops. The ladies gradually awake—not startled, but displeased.

Senator

The marshalls will clear the room.

Equal difficulty is experienced with all the gentlemen, but the room is finally cleared, General Mixup going off last, shaking his fist and growling at his antagonist.

Second Member of the Committee

Just as it was last year. Isn't it strange that they never can discuss anything without coming to blows about it!

Third Member

Well, at least you can't say they are indifferent.

Senator

Indifferent! It would be better if they were. A disgraceful exhibition!

First Member

No, not disgraceful in its proper place—the Armory.

That is what they are trained for, not argument, but physical force, but it does furnish an excellent example of what I have always said: "The fighters of a country cannot be its voters."

Senator

Shall we take an informal vote on the bill?

The curtain descends slowly as each member of the committee is heard voting nay, in turn.

CURTAIN.

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WE might take Mrs. and Mr. John Martin's plan of proxy voting for unwilling females more seriously if we had voting by conscription in the United States. Since the ballot is not compulsory, why have a proxy? Why not adopt the simple expedient used by so many male voters and stay away from the polls directly and indirectly?

"Half the logic of misgovernment lies in this sophistical dilemma: If the people are turbulent they are unfit for liberty; if they are quiet they do not want it."—*Macauley.*

Women's Work

AS the feminist movement in this country has concentrated on the political issue and expressed itself primarily in a fight for woman's franchise, its other phases have become subordinate and at times have appeared to be seriously neglected. From the European standpoint, the women of the United States seem indifferent to matters of far greater importance to them than the vote, such as single standards of morality, more favorable divorce laws, equity in the courts, motherhood insurance, dress reform and recognition of the work of women in the home and outside of it. These demands for equality, non-political in character, do, of course, receive a certain amount of attention here, but there is so little concerted action in their behalf, compared with the immensity and the expertness of the suffrage campaigns, that attempts to obtain the other concomitants to woman's complete emancipation seem sporadic indeed.

One noteworthy effort to determine what action must be taken to obtain for women a just recognition in the professions and the business world as well as in the schools giving the requisite training, is a series of public lectures or conferences on vocations which New York University is giving this winter at the Judson Memorial Hall on Washington Square. No less than thirty different subjects are here considered and each is discussed by a woman who has made a success in her particular field.

Every Tuesday evening since the beginning of October, at a quarter to eight the lecture room has been filled comfortably and on more than one occasion crowded to the door hinges with women (and here and there a man) eager to hear how some member of the once-styled "weaker sex" has gone out into a man's world, overcome obstacles and forged ahead to recognition of her efforts and professional and commercial success.

Sometimes the authorities have invited experts to address the undergraduates on opportunities awaiting them in one or another field of endeavor, occasionally they have had vocational conferences of a few days' duration, but no institution has taken the matter up as thoroughly as New York University. Not only is it giving these lectures free to the public, but it is also recognizing the necessity of vocational guidance in the academic sphere by giving credit toward a degree in the School of Commerce to students who do a prescribed amount of reading and pass an examination besides attending the lectures.

One reason why these lectures were made public was that the authorities realized that they might be of great benefit to women who were at a loss what to do, women who had started in to do one thing and wished they might be doing something else, women who were discontented or undecided and who, therefore, needed guidance and help and encouragement to prepare themselves for their greatest usefulness. Therefore, the audience is most heterogenous and is made up of all kinds and sorts of people, from $9.00 a week stenographers, to college professors in economics and sociology.

Among the interesting subjects covered were "Woman as an Economic Factor," by Miss Juliet S. Poyntz, Research Director of the Rand School of Social Science; a thoroughly practical summary on "The Theory and Practice of Business," by Joseph French Johnson, Dean of the School of Commerce and Finance of New York University; a discussion of industrial arts, including a talk on the designing of clothes by Lady Duff Gordon, a rousing debate on the status of Interior Decoration which Mrs. Mary Linton Ackerman designated as "an asylum rather than a profession;" some practical talks on the work of the insurance and real estate agent as well as the buyer and the seller in the wholesale and retail business; addresses on various phases of journalism and the making of literature, and on Food, the management of Tea Rooms and Homemaking from the viewpoint of efficiency. At the close of some of the sessions the discussion has been so animated and prolonged that the janitors of the building have had to use every means to bring them to a close. Sometimes even putting out the lights has not been immediately effective.

Other lectures to come are "Women and the Community," their civic responsibilities and opportunities for service, Mrs. Mary Ritter Beard, author of "Woman's Work in Municipalities;" Rev. Ann Allebach on "Ministerial Responsibility to the Community"; "Opportunities for the Student of Psychology," by Dr. E. L. Keller, of the Vanderbilt Clinic," "Rural Credits—Colonization—Marketing," Mrs. Haviland H. Lund, founder of the "Forward-to-the-Land League;" "Agriculture and Allied Industries," Miss Hilda Loines, Secretary of the Women's National Agricultural and Horticultural Association; "Social Service—Case Work," Miss Mary E. Richmond, Charity Organization Department, Russell Sage Foundation; "Research," Miss Mary VanKleeck, Russell Sage Foundation. Miss Katharine Davis and Miss Lillian Wald are scheduled to speak later in the term.

The instantaneous response to the first announcement of the course was so great that it was deemed advisable for a time to issue no more tickets of admission. But now that the sessions are taking place in the larger hall of the building a new edition of cards will be issued to all who apply to Major B. Foster, Secretary, School of Commerce, Accounts and Finance, New York University.

Iowa Next

Rose Lawless Geyer

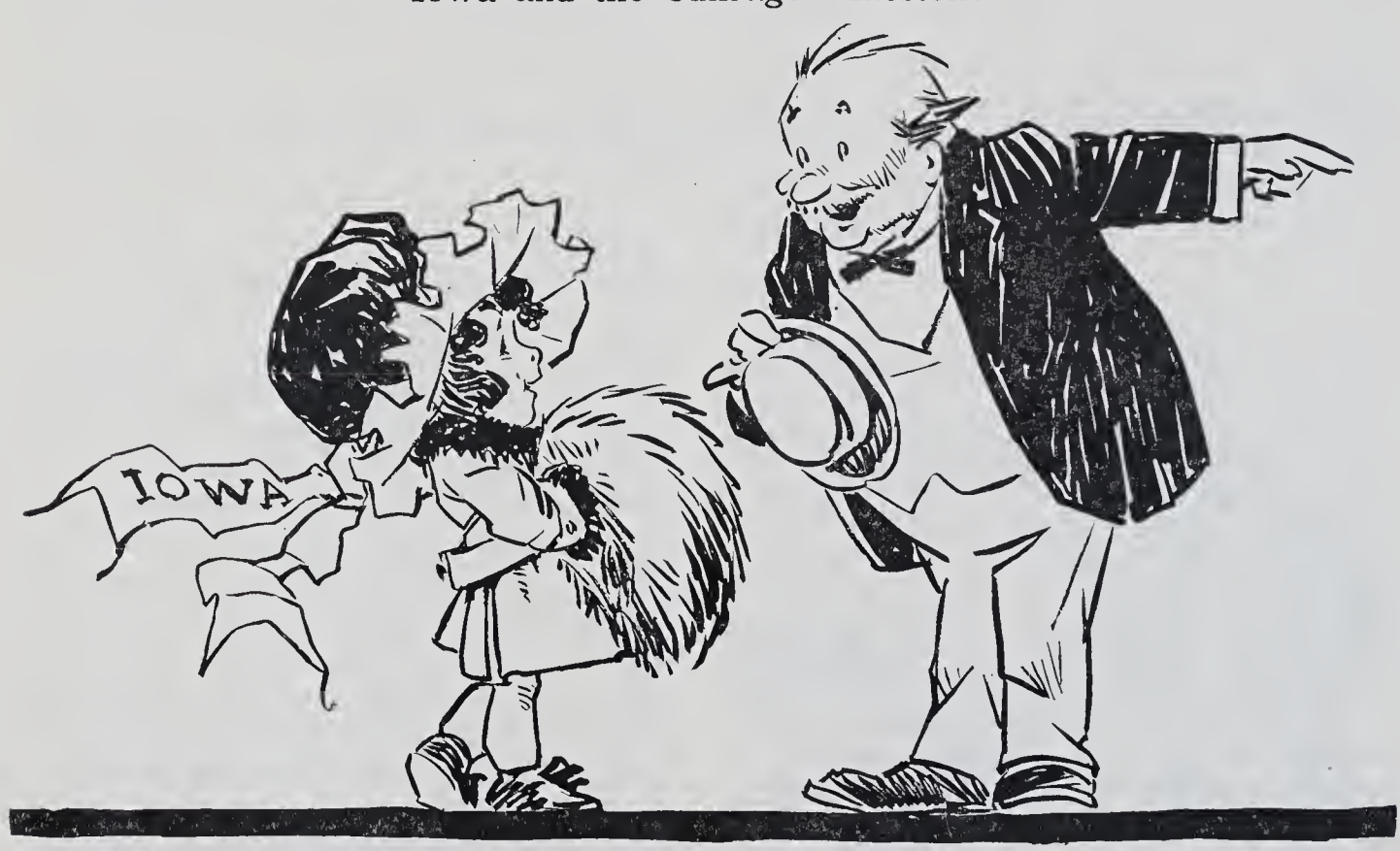
SUFFRAGE has never been put to the test under more auspicious circumstances than in Iowa. In fact, the suffragists could hardly have found a more desirable field in which to renew their fight for the ballot, after the four defeats in the East, than in the heart of the Middle West—Iowa. The fact that the situation in Iowa is quite different from that in the East gives several points of advantage to the Iowa workers in the present campaign, which ends on June 5, the day of the state primaries.

Those forces for evil which fought Votes for Women so determinedly in the East are not so firmly entrenched in Iowa. Then, too, there is the advantage of conducting a campaign in a State which ranks first as regards literacy, the percentage of illiteracy being but one and seven-tenths. Iowa also has a relatively small percentage of foreign-born citizens. An educational campaign conducted in such a field as this cannot help but bear fruit, is the belief of the suffragists of Iowa.

The women are approaching the end of their fifty-year struggle for the ballot with the confidence that comes from the active, friendly support of those forces which are essentially Iowan. The cause of suffrage is supported by Iowa's chief executive, Governor George W. Clarke, by Senators Cummins and Kenyon, and by the leading men in the field of politics, business and professional life. Almost every influential paper in the State, through its editorial and news columns, is supporting the equal suffrage cause in a vigorous manner. A most significant step in the Iowa suffrage movement was the formation, in January, of a Men's League for Woman Suffrage, which is statewide in its scope. An organization will be perfected in every county, which, it may readily be seen, will bring powerful aid to the Votes for Women cause.

The support from the women's side is as sweeping and comprehensive. Almost every large organization which includes women in its membership has not only endorsed suffrage, but is working actively for it. The Iowa State Federation of Women's clubs, with a membership of

Iowa and the Suffrage Milestone



By courtesy of Martha Hart and Jay N. Darling (Ding)

"And where are you going, fair Iowa, pray?"
"I'm bound for perfection; please tell me the way?"
The answer is simple; yon milestone, I'm told,
Is marked "Equal Suffrage" in letters of gold.
And when you have passed it—lo, gleaming and white,
The straight road of Progress will lead you aright!"

17,000; the State Grange, which includes many women in its membership; organized labor, the State Teachers' Association, which includes a majority of the 25,000 women teachers in the State; the State Registered Nurses' Association and the W. C. T. U are among the organizations co-operating with the suffrage association to put Iowa on the suffrage map in June.

The Supreme Court of Iowa has just given a strong endorsement for equal suffrage in its decision in a case involving the votes cast by the women of Des Moines on the question of the establishment of a municipal court. It is true that three of the seven judges did not agree on the opinion, but it is understood that this difference of opinion was over a point of law and did not express the attitude of these three men concerning full citizenship for women. Chief Justice Evans, one of the dissenting members of the court, declared the other justices had "triumphantly beaten the Legislature to the final goal, which is assumed to be near at hand," and he added: "We may safely assume that the women are to be fully emancipated from political disability."

The majority opinion of the court, written by Justice Preston, and fully concurred in by three other members of the court, said in part: " * * * we may well keep in view the progress of our state legislation for many years toward the complete emancipation of woman from the disabilities and discriminations formerly imposed upon her by the law until now the constitutional restrictions which denies her entire equality at the polls is practically the last surviving badge of her supposed inferiority in personal, civil and civic rights. * * * While the presence of women at the polls is an innovation which all do not view with equal equanimity or satisfaction, yet to my mind it is difficult to imagine any good reason why she, who is man's equal in other rights of person and property, and has no less interest than he in good government and social order, should not equally with him make her voice heard and her influence felt at the ballot box, where questions affecting the common good are put to their final test. When that time arrives, and equality in fact as well as in name is accomplished, may we not confidently expect an advanced standard of good citizenship and a more truly republican form of government?"

Turning from the executive and judiciary bodies of the State to the clergy, Iowa suffragists are again fortunate. The support of these men who, through their personal influence and their pulpits, are leaders in their communities, means much for the cause of suffrage. On the Sunday in May when Mothers Day sermons will be given the congregations in all parts of the state—in the cities and in the cross roads churches—will hear suffrage sermons.

Among the influential clergymen who are working actively for the suffrage cause is the Rt. Rev. Austin M. Dowling, bishop of the Des Moines. diocese of the Roman Catholic Church and an important factor in the community. Bishop Dowling has delivered a number of addresses in which he voiced his belief in equal suffrage.

In this campaign, which is engaging national attention, Iowa has not only the good will of her sister states but their very active co-operation as well. Like very good neighbors, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, Nebraska and Missouri are giving aid in many ways, and the Eastern States are not forgetting Iowa. One splendid gift came to Iowa through the national president, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. As her personal gift to her native state—Iowa—Mrs. Catt is paying the salary of an organizer throughout the campaign. The Woman Votes Campaign Alliance is also giving the services of an organizer to the campaign.

When the weight of all this support given the cause in Iowa is duly considered, is it any wonder that Iowa lays claim to conducting a campaign under conditions that have never been equalled by any other campaign state? Is it any wonder that Iowa, believing in her friends and trusting to the intelligence of her voters, cannot help but feel that she is to be the twelfth state to give full suffrage to women? "Iowa Next" is a campaign slogan which is well understood in all parts of the state.

The plan under which Iowa is developing her campaign has been declared by one of the national officers to be the best ever tried out by any state. This plan calls for the development of the county unit. Each county has its chairman and township chairmen, all working under the direction of the state board. In each county there are committees that correspond to the state committees, such as the press, literature, speakers bureau, finance and publicity. Each county chairman is urged to develop all suffrage material within her county and to enlist the local men and women of prominence in the county work. That this plan works out well is proved by the fact that in one county so many of the well-known men were enlisted by the speakers bureau that it was necessary to hold two large meetings to get in all who wanted to speak. One great advantage of the county unit plan is that it gives each county chairman opportunity to use such aid and material as she feels best suited to her particular county.

By assignment of the state board, district organizers have been placed in each congressional district to organize that district down to the smallest unit, co-operating with the county chairmen in interviewing voters, arranging for meet-

ings and special features and in getting everything in readiness for the work of election day.

The campaign now under way was begun as soon as the Legislature, for the second and last time, passed the measure submitting to the voters the proposed amendment to the constitution. During the last few months a most intensive campaign has been carried on. The remaining weeks will be devoted to taking the canvass and checking up the vote. This work was started some time ago in many of the counties and the result in each instance has been such as to add strength to the hopes of the suffragists.

Des Moines, the largest city in the State, was canvassed thoroughly something more than a year ago, and the result of this house to house canvass showed 21,284 as favorable to suffrage, 5,955 as neutral and 2,503 as opposed. This vote will be rechecked. During the summer months, at the county fairs and various other large gatherings, straw votes were taken and the majority in each instance was in favor of suffrage by a large percentage.

The vote in Iowa is largely rural and much of the work has been done in these rural districts and at the meetings of the granges and farmers' institutes, where suffrage addresses have been given with effective results. The Iowa farmer realizes that the Iowa farm woman is as interested in good roads, in good schools and the economical administration of county affairs as he is himself, and that doubling the farm vote would serve to increase its effectiveness and power.

Newspapers of the state believe one of the first directions in which the women's votes will be felt will be good roads. There is no one more vitally effected by the taxation and tenantry problems than the farm woman, and these are two big questions which they will be called upon to help solve. Then, too, there are 16,000 women in Iowa who are managing or owning farms.

That suffrage will carry at the primary has been predicted time and again by men who have every reason to know the pulse of the voters. Secretary of State W. S. Allen has predicted at least a 20,000 majority for equal suffrage. Though the suffragists share the belief of the men who believe the cause will triumph, they have no intention of sitting down, but rather they are bestirring themselves in a way that makes for effective results.

Miss Flora Dunlap, president of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association, has put in a nutshell her belief in victory for Iowa next June when she says, "Iowa will win because the men and women who live in Iowa are back of the movement."

Will the Senate Listen to the People?

Helen C. Dwight

National Child Labor Committee

"HOUSE to pass child labor bill, but Senate will kill it," was the press report current a few weeks ago. The House did pass the bill—by a vote of 337 to 46—and now the question is, will the rest of the prophecy come true? Will the Senate kill the child labor bill?

Last year the Senate did kill it when it was brought up under special ruling at the close of the session. One Senator, Overman, of North Carolina, objected to its being debated at that time, and so, according to the rules of the Senate, that settled the bill.

But will it be killed this year?

Perhaps we of the National Child Labor Committee are too optimistic, perhaps we underestimate the strength of the bill's opponents, but the truth is we believe the Senate will pass the bill for the simple reason that *the people of the United States want it passed.* After all, even the Senate, though not essentially a representative body, is amenable to the will of the people, and there is little doubt that the people want this bill passed, and passed quickly.

Dayton (Ohio) Journal

"Please, Sir, Can You Reach the Key?"

The very organizations behind the bill, show its popular character. The National Child Labor Committee, itself, with a membership of 9,000 scattered all over the country is a pretty fair index of popular belief in the federal child labor bill. The American Federation of Labor is supporting the bill. So is the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. So is the General Federation of Women's Clubs. So is the American Medical Association. It goes almost without saying that suffragists are behind the bill, so long have child labor reform and woman suffrage been coupled.

But even if these groups of people were not avowedly in favor of the Keating bill, the attitude of the press of the country toward it would be enough to indicate the state of mind of the people. In at least 32 states we know that leading newspapers have taken the trouble to publish editorials favoring it. Such papers as the Chicago *Tribune,* the Memphis *Commercial-Appeal,* the Boston *Transcript,* the Philadelphia *Ledger,* the New York *Tribune,* the New Orleans *Times-Picayune,* the Kansas City *Post,* and the San Francisco *Call* are actively supporting the measure. And as time goes on, interest seems to be spreading, the papers are giving it more and more space, and more papers are taking a definite stand for it.

The vote in the House of Representatives on February 2d, however, when the bill was passed, is probably the most significant evidence of the will of the people. The representatives of 38 states voted solidly for the bill. Only four states —Georgia, Mississippi and the Carolinas— showed a majority against the bill. Of the 46 men who voted against it, only one was from a Northern state, Parker of New Jersey, but even the 45 Southerners who opposed it, did not represent the majority of the South; there are 150 Southern Congressmen and 105 of them either voted for the bill or refrained from voting at all. Can anyone believe, then, that the greater part of this country does not favor the Keating child labor bill?

It is obvious that the opposition to the bill is sectional and largely prejudiced by special interests. At the hearings before the House Committee on Labor, the only people who appeared against the bill were representatives of the Southern Cotton Manufacturers' Association, and James Emery, counsel for the National Association of Manufacturers, who admitted on cross-examination that the 4,000 members of his association had never been approached as individuals on the subject of the bill; he represented simply the board of directors who had acted on a resolution against the bill he himself had presented. At the hearings before the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, the same thing was true; only representatives of the cotton manufacturers opposed the measure.

But why is the opposition confined to this single group? Because the cotton manufacturers claim that the bill is aimed directly at them. But as it happens the bill is not directed at the cotton manufacturers. It mentions no specific industries: it covers all mills, factories, canneries, workshops, manufacturing establishments, mines and quarries in the United States. According to the Census of 1910 there are some 150,000 children employed in these places who will be affected by the bill, and only about 65,000 of them are employed in Southern States. There are only nine states in the Union that already have all the provisions of the Keating bill on their statute books. That is, the bill will affect 39 states— and yet only four states voted against it in the House of Representatives!

So it looks as if the people of the United States had at last come to the point of wishing to do away with child labor. As someone said at the recent national child labor conference in Asheville, N. C.—where, by the way, we learned that a good part of the South resents being misrepresented by the cotton interests—this is an age of conservation, and at last we are realising that the first asset of the nation to be conserved should be the nation's children, its future citizens.

But the opposition to the bill will not stop fighting until the last vote is taken in the Senate. The opposition will undoubtedly filibuster in the Senate to delay the bill as they did in the House. A single Senator may succeed in killing the measure if it can be delayed to the end of the session and then brought up under a special rule. The only way to assure its passage is for each of us who believes in the bill to keep on fighting, too, until the last vote is taken. We must write our own Senators, urging them not only to vote for the bill but to do everything in their power to hurry its passage. We must get our friends to write. We must ask our newspapers to give the bill all the publicity possible. In short, we must be as active in supporting the bill as the minority are in opposing it.

At the conference in Asheville, Dr. McKelway, of the National Child Labor Committee, said: "One man killed the child labor bill last year. And what would the bill have done if he had not objected to it? It would have freed 27,000 children between 10 and 14, from the factories and mills in this country; it would have freed 17,000

children between 10 and 16 from work deep down in the mines; it would have given 122,000 children under 16 an 8-hour day in the factories instead of a 9, 10 or 11-hour day; and it would have taken 29,000 children under 16 out of night work in factories. In other words, it would have directly affected 150,000 children under 16 now employed in this country. It would have freed 150,000 children—and one man killed it. I for one should not care to have the responsibility that one man took upon himself!"

It is quite a responsibility—the responsibility for the future of 150,000 or more children, and few of us would care to have it. Yet will not that responsibility rest partially on *us* this year if the Keating child labor bill is killed again in the Senate? Is the responsibility not ours if we fail to let our Senators know our sentiments? Is it not our responsibility if we have not done everything in our power to hurry the passage of the bill?

When The Federal Child Labor Bill Becomes a Law.

(*Dallas Texas News*)

A Tolstoi Symposium

IT is nearly half a century since Tolstoi published Anna Karenina, yet his symposium on woman suffrage which reflects the attitude of a group of Russians of the period might have been written but yesterday.

"The conversation," said Tolstoi, "immediately went over to the question of women's education.

"Alexei Alexandrovitch was of the opinion that woman's education was too much confused with questions of emancipation, and that on that account alone it was harmful.

"'I believe on the contrary that these two questions are inseparable,' Pestsov observed. 'It is like a vicious circle. Woman is deprived of her rights because of her lack of education, and her lack of education is due to the deprivation of her rights. We must not overlook the fact that the bondage of woman is so great and so old that we frequently fail to understand the abyss that separates her from us.'

"'When you spoke of her rights,' Sergei Ivanovitch began as soon as Pestsov had finished, 'did you mean the right to perform duties on a jury, a county council, as presidents of law-courts, or members of parliament?'

"'Precisely.'

"'If you think that women can fulfil these functions, would it not be more correct to speak of them as *duties* and not as *rights*? You will all agree that in sitting on a jury or town council, or doing the work of a telegraph operator, we are performing duties. Thus it would turn out that the women are seeking duties, and quite legitimately so. We cannot but sympathize with their desire to aid men in their labors.'

"'Quite so,' Alexei Alexandrovitch remarked. 'But it seems to me that the question resolves itself into this: are women fitted for these duties?'

"'Without doubt they will be when education becomes general among them,' Stepan Arkadyevitch put in. . . .

"'And the proverb?' the old prince asked, who had been listening to the conversation with a twinkle in his eye. 'I may repeat it in the presence of my daughters. Woman has long hair, but . . .'

"'We thought the same of the negroes before their liberation!' Pestsov interrupted him, angrily.

"'It seems strange to me that women should be looking for new duties while men are trying to escape from them,' Sergei Ivanovitch observed.

"'Duties are accompanied by rights, power, money, honor; that is what women are after,' Pestsov remarked.

"'It seems to me to be the same as though I demanded the right to be a wet-nurse, and felt injured because it was not granted me, while women were being paid for it,' the old prince put in. . . .

"'But we stand for a principle, for an ideal!' Pestsov thundered. 'Woman claims the right to be independent and educated; she is oppressed and crushed by the consciousness that this is impossible.'

"'Just as I am oppressed and crushed because I won't be received as a wet-nurse in a foundling hospital,' the old prince said, much to the delight of Turovtsin, who laughed so much that he dropped the thick end of a piece of asparagus into the sauce."

With Our Allies—the Antis

WE invite our readers to send anti-suffrage arguments and statements for this page which often wins converts where suffrage arguments fail. For the best "pearl" sent to the editor before March 15th we will give a year's subscription to *The Woman Voter* as a prize.

Prize Pearl

"She (my wife) loyally supported my views, even when she did not share them, and we were of *one mind.*"

The mind was that of our old anti-suffrage friend, Dr. Lyman Abbott. The pearl was deposited in his recently published *Reminiscences.*

How to Make the Best of Life vs. Woman Suffrage

C. E. Tibbets

"The giving of suffrage to women permits them to travel over the country, stop at hotels, and commingle with men as freely as men now commingle with each other. I have been informed that some of the disreputable women of large cities are graduates of colleges, some of them of high schools, and but few who have not graduated from grammar schools, and I strenuously object to forcing our innocent young women into such association by giving them suffrage, which will permit their commingling together in hotels and politics."

"While it is impossible to employ American-born girls for housekeepers or cooks, we find the restaurants and similar public places full of them, but they only understand one thing well, such as waiting on table. They have not been educated so that they could take charge of a home and cook a meal properly. This condition has been brought about during the last sixty years by the agitation of Woman Suffrage."

"If the brain power, intellect, alertness, and good judgment of the female sex are superior to those of the male, when they are granted the suffrage, some of the same men who granted it to them will vote with them and will elect the senators, congressmen, governors, and the President of the United States from the ranks of the female sex, then issue a proclamation, 'The mentally strong for the intellectual positions and the physically strong for the servile work.' Under such conditions the men who admit their minds are not as strong as those of the women, will be awarded positions under the rulers in accordance with their own admission as to their mental weakness, and many of them will be washing dishes, scrubbing porches, pounding carpets, blackening stoves, building fires, doing the washing, and peeping out through basement windows, wishing that some beautiful females would come along and select them for husbands."

Rabbit Philosophy

THE United States is the only civilized country where it is a crime to give information with regard to family limitation. The recent agitation by social workers, doctors and progressive people in general to have our archaic law amended has brought about a live discussion of the issues involved in birth control.

A symposium published in the New York *Tribune,* last Spring, showed that Dr. Ira Wile and Miss Lavinia Dock believed in family limitations while Anthony Comstock and Mrs. Arthur Dodge were opposed to dissemination of information with regard to birth control.

Human multiplication is desirable at any price, according to the Anti point of view. The fact that thousands of babies die before they are a year old while thousands of those who live have a heritage of poverty which makes them unfit for the struggle of life is of no consequence. Says Mrs. Dodge: "I think the poor people are very well taken care of. I have worked for years in day nurseries and other charitable organizations and it seems to me that the children of the poor are taken care of."

A child's place then is not in the home but in the day nursery. A rather quaint philosophy, this, from a leading defender of "the sphere," unless we read between the lines that it applies only to the poor. Not better babies, but more babies; not selective parenthood, but enforced parenthood; not a low death rate, but a high birth rate; not welcome and opportunity for every child, but plenty of day nurseries and charitable organizations—such is the rabbit philosophy.

Chivalry is dead. His funeral was held at the Union League Club, Elihu Root presiding. During the ceremony a committee was appointed to work against all bills for woman suffrage in the New York Legislature. The committee will appear at Albany, where they will exhibit the fitness of the oldest and strongest to guide forever the destinies of the State.

Facts and Fancies

THREE modest little volumes, one bearing the seal of Columbia University, the other two reprinted from *The American Journal of Sociology* bid fair to abolish forever a group of scientific fancies which have been used for years as a basis for opposing the progress of women. The importance of these books to students of feminism can scarcely be over-estimated. Two of the studies, *Variability as Related to Sex Differences in Achievement* and *Functional Periodicity* were made by Leta Hollingsworth, and the third, *The Comparative Variability of the Sexes at Birth,* was made by Dr. Helen Montague in co-operation with Mrs. Hollingsworth.

A certain professor explained his many-syllabled academic phrases as "fool killers" which prevented too many questions from the students. A great deal of scientific literature on the biological and physiological differences between men and women has been put forth with somewhat the same method, and average people have been so much awed by the flow of language that they have never dared to ask if it were really so. Dr. Montague and Mrs. Hollingsworth, having more courage and more scientific training than average people, determined to find out the basis in fact of the principal anti-feminist fancy, the theory of the greater variability of men.

"It has been stated," they say, "that woman represents the static and conservative element in civilization, while man represents the dynamic and variable element and that this accounts for the fact that nearly all historical achievement has been the achievement of men. It is further indicated that in the future, as in the past, in spite of any changes that may be wrought in the economic and social status of women, men will always lead women intellectually, because they are inherently more variable."

Much of the generalization in the literature of the subject is based upon measurements of the structural differences between male and female, the supposition being that greater anatomical variation implies greater mental variation. A number of studies made by doctors are based upon measurements of new-born babies. Two of the classics include scientific measurements of 20 and 27 infants, while a more elaborate treatise is based upon the measurements of 372 males and 342 females. Dr. Montague and Mrs. Hollingsworth based their results upon measurements made at the New York Infirmary for Women and Children of 20,000 infants at birth. Their conclusions are as follows:

"Male infants are on the average, without exception, slightly larger than female infants in all anatomical measurements. The difference is, however, much less than we expected to find, and is in most cases so small as to be practicably negligible. * * * The differences in variability are very slight. * * * The facts adduced lend no support whatever to the theory that males are inherently more variable than females. Whichever figure we take as the measure of variability, there is no indication of any real sex difference for the anatomy as a whole. It is true that in cranial measurements females are very slightly more variable on the whole, both relatively and absolutely, in spite of their slightly smaller central tendency, and this fact is especially interesting in view of the statement made by Ellis (Havelock) that 'as might be anticipated, the greater variability of men in mental capacity is, on the anatomical side, connected with a greater variability in the size of the skull and brain.'

"Our results, showing that there is no inherent difference in anatomical variability, suggest that there will be found no inherent difference in mental variability, but they do not *prove* that such is the case. * * * In view of the fact that the most accurate and comprehensive studies so far made of comparative anatomical variability of the sexes fail to reveal any sign of greater male variability and since there are no experimental or statistical data extant which prove the greater mental variability of males, it would seem necessary to abandon greater male variability as an ingenious explanation of sex differences in achievement, and as the source of 'social and practical consequences of the widest significance.'"

When the question of the higher education of women was under discussion in the latter part of the nineteenth century, one of the strongest arguments against the movement was based upon physiological grounds. Later, when the struggle for woman's political enfranchisement began, the same reasons were brought forward by its opponents. A French writer, Icard, summed up the situation of women in this way:

"The psychical and physical state of women during the menstrual period seems to me to constitute one of the chief reasons why she should not administer public affairs. Indeed, one cannot depend upon a health so fragile and so often disturbed; the errors of judgment and the false evaluations so often made at the time prove that they (women) are unable to undertake comfortably and successfully that which should be the exclusive lot of the stronger sex."

Mrs. Hollingsworth questioned this anti-feminist fancy and for three years, by a series of careful laboratory experiments at Columbia University, studied woman's mental and motor abilities during menstration. The result, published in the book *Functional Periodicity* is that "Careful and exact measurement does not reveal a periodic mental or motor inefficiency in normal women."

We hope that the editorial writer of the New York *Times,* who has exploited women's alleged physiological difficulties as an argument against woman suffrage, will read this book before the next campaign. As Mrs. Hollingsworth pertinently suggests, it is really time that we should have some studies of the psychology of women based on truth, not on opinion; on precise, not on anecdotal evidence; on accurate data rather than on the remnants of magic. Moreover, in this field of women's psychology and physiology, women are eminently fitted to make at least as authoritative statements as are men.

The Woman Suffrage Party of New York City

Edited by

Adaline W. Sterling

THE CITY CONVENTION.

DELEGATES and alternates from the five boroughs completely filled the floor of the Friends' Meeting House, East Six-Street, on the evening of January 31st, and the attendance of unofficial suffragists left no gallery seat unoccupied.

The convention resembled its predecessors in the spirit of harmony which marked the proceedings; it differed from former gatherings in that reports were conspicuous by their absence. Not that the audience was left in ignorance of work accomplished, but the record was presented in summary in the Chairman's address.

Recognition may be said to have been the keynote of the evening. The note was struck in Miss Hay's opening speech, it was echoed in the resolutions, and repeated in the succeeding addresses. The first instance of recognition was the greeting accorded Miss Hay, a loving tribute to her faithful leadership, and a pledge of continued loyalty.

Dr. Katherine B. Davis, whom the Mayor has "recognized" by appointment as Chairman of the Commission of Parole, was the first speaker, and gave an outline of the purpose of the new Board. Dr. Mary Lines followed with a tale of recognition in the appointment of three women doctors to the staff of the Cumberland Street Hospital. Then Deputy Commissioner Clark, of the Street Cleaning Department, told of work recently assigned to women. Mrs. Raymond Brown, who came to listen, but was called upon to speak, made a cheery little speech as she always does.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt received a rousing welcome as she rose to make the concluding address. It developed also that Mrs. Catt "recognized" something before election—that we had allowed a shade of pessimism to tinge our thoughts, which was not in the least the kind of thing to do. Then she inspired her hearers with her own enthusiasm and set every mind on the straight path of optimism.

Resolutions of thanks sent to Commissioners Fetherston and Kingsbury for their recognition of women in their respective departments brought the meeting to a close.

RESOLUTIONS.

We rejoice in the progress of woman suffrage in the State as shown by the vote of over half a million of men on November 2, 1915.

We recognize the progressive spirit of public officials in City, State and Nation, calling attention to the fact that within the year suffrage has been endorsed by the

Continued on Page 25

National American Woman Suffrage Association
Headquarters—171 Madison Avenue
Chairman—Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt

New York State Woman Suffrage Party
Headquarters—303 Fifth Avenue
Chairman—Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse

Woman Suffrage Party, New York City
Headquarters—48 East 34th Street
Chairman—
Miss Mary G. Hay, 2 West 86th Street
Honorary Chairman—
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt
Vice-Chairman—
Mrs. Martha Wentworth Suffren,
68 Buckingham Road, Brooklyn
Secretary—
Mrs. Harriet Wells, 46 West 9th Street
Treasurer—
Mrs. Margaret Chanler Aldrich,
317 West 74th Street

MANHATTAN BOROUGH—
Chairman—Miss Annie Doughty,
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The Woman Suffrage Party is organized to win the vote for women. It follows the regular plan of the political parties, having a leader in each Assembly District and a captain in each Election District. Its purpose is to enroll the name and enlist the support of every man and woman who believes in equal suffrage.

If you believe in the principle of democracy, come into our ranks; every one is welcome. Send your name and address to 48 East 34th Street. Remember that every name counts. The success of woman suffrage depends upon the strength of our organization and the loyalty of our workers. We are organized to win. Join the Party to-day.

President of the United States, the Governor of the State, the Mayor and other officials of the City Administration.

We recall with gratification that since our last City Convention over a million women of Denmark have been granted the ballot on equal terms with men.

We acknowledge and appreciate the support given to woman by Organized Labor in the Campaign of 1915.

We perceive the awakening of the churches to the value of Woman Suffrage as indicated by the endorsement of clergymen, the resolutions adopted by denominational conferences, and the conferring upon the women of the Episcopal Church the right to vote on parish matters.

We offer our congratulations to Dr. Katherine B. Davis on her promotion to a position of greater responsibility, and we regard this as the recognition by the Mayor of her work as Commissioner of Correction.

We congratulate the women doctors on the victory achieved in the appointment by Commissioner Kingsbury of Dr. Mary Lines, Dr. Cornelia Brand and Dr. Mabel Sisson to the visiting staff of the Cumberland Street Hospital, Brooklyn.

We note with satisfaction the more frequent appointment of women to positions of municipal responsibility, and that women are now serving in the Health, Fire, Tenement House, Street Cleaning and other City Departments.

To the women of Iowa we send hearty greeting with the hope that victory will be theirs on June 15, 1916. And to the women of West Virginia and North Dakota we send the same good wishes for November, 1916.

We offer our deepest sympathy to our sisters of the warring nations of Europe, and bid them hope that out of their present sorrow may rise a reconstructed society in which women shall have a voice in the councils of their nations.

We record with pleasure that the Suffrage Committee of the United States Senate has presented a favorable report on the Susan B. Anthony Amendment to the Federal Constitution.

In view of the remarkable vote in favor of suffrage cast in the November election, we call insistently upon the United States Senators and Congressmen from our State to heed the voice of their *voting* suffrage constituency, and the voice of their *non-voting* suffrage constituency by unanimous support of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment when it shall come to a vote in Senate and House.

We commend to the careful study of the members of the Legislature the vote cast for suffrage in Greater New York which was 43 per cent. of the total favorable vote of the State. We declare unreservedly that the trend of public sentiment indicated by this vote compels each legislator to place himself on favorable record in bringing the question again before the voters.

We *demand* the re-submission of the Woman Suffrage Amendment in 1917. As the first step thereto we insist that the Judiciary Committees shall present a favorable report without delay, and that the bill shall come to an early vote.

No Quibbling Over Suffrage.

In reporting favorably the woman suffrage constitutional amendment the Assembly Judiciary Committee has begun with praiseworthy promptness the long process of setting this vital issue again before the people. There seems to be a disposition on the part of the Senate committee not to be equally prompt and frank in its action. That is a grievous mistake. Senator Brown and some of the other leaders may be opposed to equal suffrage, and that is entirely within their rights. But it will be foolish and futile to endeavor to put little hindrances in the course of this legislation.

The strength which piled up more than half a million votes for equal suffrage is potent enough to deserve—to demand—fair and decent treatment. It will be unfortunate for any individual or party organization to deny such treatment, or to appear to deny it. The women who ask for this measure seek the high privilege of participating in the duties and of helping to bear the burdens of government. There should be no petty juggling, no legislative tricks and evasions, in meeting this request. The Senate Judiciary Committee ought to report the bill speedily, so that a prompt test of the views of all the members of both houses may be taken on the floor. Nothing less than that will seem fair or satisfactory treatment to many thousands of suffragists who are already voters.—*The New York Tribune.*

Another Vote on Woman Suffrage.

The Assembly Judiciary Committee has advanced the new Woman-Suffrage constitutional amendment by a vote of 11 to 1. There should be little objection in the Legislature to another referendum upon this subject.

The safeguards against hasty constitutional changes are ample. The amendment, if passed now, must be passed in another Legislature, including a new Senate; so that the vote cannot be submitted to the people before November, 1917.

Last November 553,348 men of New York State, nearly 43 per cent. of all recorded upon the subject, favored Woman Suffrage at the polls. The total number who expressed an opinion was greater by many thousands than those voting upon any other question referred to them except the new Constitution itself.

The sentiment is certainly strong enough to justify another referendum in 1917.—*The New York World.*

"Work for votes-for-women in New York should resemble a modern gun in its organization. That is it should be so mounted on a swivel that it can be aimed either at the State Legislature or at the national Congress at any time. Any suffrage organization that cannot do that is, to my mind, inefficient," said Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, in her address before the Congressional Conference in New York on February 24th.

Books for Women

THE HOUSE ON HENRY STREET.

By Lillian D. Wald. Published by Henry Holt and Company. Price $2.00 net.

THE HOUSE ON HENRY STREET, the record of Lillian Wald's service to the city of New York, is one of the best briefs for woman suffrage ever published. It is a perfect illustration of the way woman's so-called sphere enlarges and develops as her work touches the life of the community.

The instinct which led Miss Wald to the East Side was essentially womanly, for no one has ever challenged woman's right to pity and care for the poor, especially to pity and care for the poor in their homes. Yet from this work which began on the top floor of a tenement has developed a great system of visiting nursing, a plan for guarding the health of children by school doctors, school nurses, milk stations and the like, finally culminating in a city Bureau of Child Hygiene, while the House on Henry Street has been a center of influence touching child labor, trades unions, vocational training, playgrounds and many other community interests. As things are, however, in this year 1916, Miss Wald's work which is now municipal and political in scope, must be carried on without the simple tool for public service which is so freely granted to her newly arrived male neighbors.

In the House on Henry Street is the following interesting comment on woman suffrage:

"Years ago the lads in one of the settlement clubs debating the subject of woman suffrage declared it to be a 'well known fact that when women had the vote they cut off their hair, they donned men's attire; their voices became harsh.'

"The conviction that the extension of democracy should include women has found free expression in our part of the city, and Miss L. L. Dock, a resident of many years, has mobilized Russians, Italians, Irish, and native born, all the nationalities of our cosmopolitan community, for the campaign.

"The transition is significant from the position of women among the orthodox Jews to the motherly looking woman who stands on a soap-box at the corner of Henry Street and makes her appeal for the franchise to a respectful group of laboring men. The mere fact that this 'mother in Israel' is obliged to work in a factory six days of the week, is an argument in itself, but intelligently and interestingly she develops her plea, and her appeal to the men's reason brings sober nods of approval."

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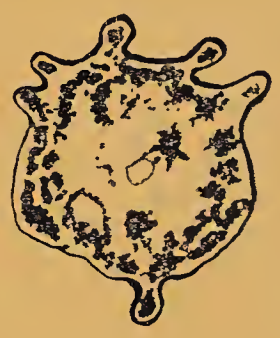

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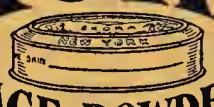

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